

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

No. 731

June 30, 1950

THREEPENCE

Race Relations Brains Trust

SOUTH AFRICA FOLLOWING NAZI GERMANY

"South African Race Relations" was the wide subject discussed by an all-South African Brains Trust at the Caxton Hall last week. Kingsley Martin, Editor of The New Statesman, was the questions master.

THE "Brains" of the evening were Colin Legum, an ex-City Councillor of Johannesburg; Malcolm Lomborg, assistant Publicity Officer at South Africa House; Lewis Rowden, Drama critic for the Daily Mail and Sunday Times of Johannesburg; Ray Altman, former assistant secretary of the Institute of Race Relations; and Dr. R. Lawrence an Indian doctor from Cape Town.

All except Mr. Lomborg were critical in varying degrees of past and present South African policies. Mr. Lomborg's defence of these policies brought forth on occasion the marked disapproval of the audience.

The questions ranged over a very wide field from the purely factual, such as "What percentage of University students in South Africa are Africans?" (one to two per cent; the Africans composing 75 per cent. of the population), to the hypothetical, such as "Do you think that the world of the future will be peopled by a coffee-coloured race?" (The "Brains" did not think so).

Cheap prison labour

In reply to another question Mr. Lomborg said that the Pass Laws were designed to identify and trace missing people. Messrs. Rowden and Altman disagreed, explaining that an African may have to carry up to 12 passes at one time, and failure to produce any one of these was a criminal offence which may involve a prison sentence.

The whole system was devised to control and direct the flow of cheap labour.

The large prison population of South Africa (four times that of Great Britain with a population quarter the size) were mainly Africans convicted under these and other laws applying to them only.

Mr. Kingsley Martin summed up by saying that as he saw it an African could be arrested at any time.

Why the colour-bar?

One questioner asked whether the cause of the colour-bar was economic, political or psychological. Mr. Legum thought it was mainly psychological, based on the fears of the small white community being swamped by a large African population.

Dr. Lawrence thought the colour bar was mainly economic. Mr. Altman produced an adroit formula: Economics (i.e. How to make your bread and butter) plus psychology (fear of losing bread and butter) equals politics (how to keep bread and butter).

Towards the end of the meeting Mr. Legum described how South Africa was following the same road as Nazi Germany via the Group Areas Act, the Mixed Marriages Act and the Population Registration Act, (Continued on back page)

MAN OF PEACE TO SPEAK IN LONDON

Trygve Lie's open letter to people of the world

"TOGETHER WE SHALL WIN THROUGH"

ON Monday, in London's Guildhall, Mr. Trygve Lie will address a meeting of the United Nations Association.

This will be the first public meeting Mr. Lie has addressed in Britain since he became Secretary-General of the United Nations over four years ago. The meeting, timed for 12 noon, will be attended by Mr. Attlee, Mr. Anthony Eden, the Lord Mayor, Dr. Gilbert Murray, President of UNA, diplomatic representatives of UN nations and an invited audience of members from many local branches of UNA.

We understand that points of major policy will be made by Mr. Lie at this meeting which is part of a European tour the Secretary-General is about to undertake.

Below we print in full an Open Letter by Trygve Lie which is a personal statement of the objectives of UNO's leading force. It was ignored by the popular National Press.

A road to be built

I SHOULD like to reply to the many people and organisations that I have written and telegraphed me concerning my efforts to further the cause of peace through the United Nations. I should like to reply to each of you individually. But I just have not been able to do that.

The phrase that strikes home to me most directly in many of the letters is "our United Nations." Letter after letter urges me to do everything to save our "United Nations."

It is in truth "Our United Nations"—everybody's United Nations. You and I are working together. The United Nations is a people's organisation—and all the peoples—everyone—has a share in deciding its destiny and the destiny of the world.

You have written me from various parts of the world—from farms, villages, schools, factories. You who are young have written and you who are older. And I have received many, many letters from mothers and from ex-Servicemen.

Many of you have asked me to tell you what you can do to help strengthen the United Nations—to help make it stronger as an instrument for peace and for the well-being of peoples.

First, let me tell you that you have already helped. You have certainly helped me. The work for peace is often difficult and sometimes discouraging. Letters such as yours give me the feeling of encouragement—the feeling that I am working with millions and millions of people everywhere in one common endeavour.

You have encouraged me, and I would like as a friend to encourage you. Keep your interest in the United Nations high. Public understanding, public knowledge is one of the strongest foundations upon which the United Nations rests. Public opinion—your opinion—is the major force that moves the tides and currents of the world.

War cannot decide

For my part I pledge you this: that I and the Secretariat staff will do our best to carry on the work for peace, for understanding among nations and governments. We feel that this is the most important task in the world today.

Peoples and Governments of different cultures and beliefs—of differing econo-

mic and social systems, must live together side by side. There are no differences so great that only war can decide.

Instead the programme should be discussion of differences—negotiation—patient steady negotiation in a spirit of give and take and mutual respect, as many of you have written me. This does not mean "surrender" by any party. It means straightforward discussion aimed at settling differences. Not all can be settled quickly. Not even some perhaps. But a start must be made.

The United Nations is the only real road to peace. It is a road which you and I—all of us—can build together.

Some of you have referred to me in your letters as "my dear friend." You know, I like that best of all.

It makes me feel that we are all friends. Together we shall win through.

FOOTNOTE: We urge every reader to send letters of support for Mr. Trygve Lie's peace efforts to the Press, members of the Government and to Mr. Trygve Lie himself, during this week-end.

King's Shilling now £7 4s.

Expenditure on recruiting for the Regular Forces during the financial year 1949-50 worked out at £7 4s. per recruit, Emrys Hughes, MP, was told in the Commons recently.

"To silence the guns, that is one of the main tasks of womanhood today.—Lord Samuel at the National Conference of Women's Institutes, Albert Hall, London, June 13, 1950.

Memo to the world's conscripts

THIS IS BRAVERY

FROM Palermo, Italy, comes news of one young conscript's brave action at his first (and last) parade.

Now facing a court martial, Barbani Mario stepped out of the ranks whilst General Luigi Marras, Chief of Staff of the Italian Army, was inspecting.

Newly called-up Mario threw his rifle at the General's feet and declared that he did not intend to serve in the army.

Military police said later that Barbani Mario was a conscientious objector.

There are no CO rights in Italy. Objectors face a long and rigorous imprisonment until their health breaks down or some cause is found for their discharge.

Comment from a Peace News sub-editor on seeing this news item reported in last Monday's mid-day edition of the Evening Standard: "It will be lifted out of the main edition." It was.

ITALY'S FIRST WORLD TOWN

THE town Rocca Sinibalda, situated in the Abruzzi, 60 miles north-east of Rome, has been renamed Rocca del Mundi (Worldcliff).

As it is only a village of 800 inhabitants, so it is a very little beginning towards the world commonwealth.

It is an American, Mrs. Crosbie, in civil life a publisher in Washington, who has converted most of this Italian town's inhabitants to the World Citizen Movement.

At a meeting in the old castle which surveys the town from a summit of a mountain, Mrs. Crosbie appealed to the women of the town to help to create peace and to build a united world without frontiers and wars. "We women insist that atomic energy and the exertions of the workers and the intellectuals should be devoted entirely to peaceful purposes..."

—Handels-Tidning, Gothenburg, June 13, 1950.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AS TEACHERS

Southport: "No"

Cheshire: "Yes"

SOUTHPORT TOWN COUNCIL are to re-advertise their vacant post of mathematics teacher at the King George V School. The only applicant for the post brought in by the previous advertisement was found to be a conscientious objector.

Alderman Dr. A. W. Limont attacked the decision at a recent Council meeting, claiming that when an urgent vacancy had to be filled the Education Committee should put other considerations—apart from an applicant's competence—out of their minds.

One of the 10 per cent.

The day before welcoming the UNA conference with many fine salutations about peace and how 90 per cent of the people wanted it, Alderman H. W. Barber (Tory member of the Town Council) congratulated the Education Committee on its refusal.

"This man," said the Alderman of the applicant, "was a conscientious objector in the war and is totally unfit to teach the children of our Borough." To his mind, Mr. Barber continued, the Council would be adopting a retrograde attitude to allow the youth of the town to be taught by a CO.

Mischief maker

Councillor A. E. Townend protested against "this whole contemptible thing which is a stain on the Council." The com-

mittee was strongly urged by Mr. Townend to send for the applicant again and "give him a chance to earn a living for which he is well qualified."

Another Councillor answered this by saying that Mr. Townend "sat in the Chamber and waited for his chance to cause a bit of political mischief."

"I make this observation," countered Councillor W. Tattersall, "I know men who conducted almost subversive activities during the war who are Communists today and who can get jobs with local authorities."

"Who would you rather have behind you in an emergency? I know whom I would rather have; I leave it at that."

Ban lifted

Cheshire County Council, last week lifted the ban on employing COs. This ban first introduced in 1940, was reaffirmed last month by the Cheshire Council.

Three COs affected by the ban were to receive letters this week withdrawing dismissal notices.



AFTER CHINA — KOREA?

Civil war left famine behind in China. Has Korea to suffer the same fate?

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TRIVIAL DIFFERENCES

THE "Red" Dean of Canterbury has unwittingly posed some urgent questions to his fellow churchmen which we would like to see answered.

His Archbishop, in his speech at the recent Mansion House dinner to the Anglican bishops, referred in friendly terms to the differences between him and the Dean.

Though differing from him in political views he said, the Dean was "not anti-Christian," but "holds profoundly and sincerely precisely the same Christian faith as you and I."

But, he said, the Dean "believed that a socialist order is more Christian," and that "sometimes the most violent means have to be adopted to get to good ends."

And he added: "As in war, he (the Dean) regards these horrors as a temporary expedient."

*

The question we would like the Archbishop to answer is: Wherein does he differ from that?

It is true that if the Archbishop is Christian, the Dean, by his belief in the use of the "most violent means" to good ends, is not precluded from the same religion. And as far as the views of both have been expressed, we would say they were both equally anti-Christian.

For the Archbishop still believes in war, with all "these horrors" which it entails. He has not yet renounced even the use of the atom-bomb as a means to certain ends. All he has said so far is that his side should not use it first.

What kind of "violent means," therefore, which the Dean approves, does the Archbishop not approve? And which of "these horrors" does he not regard as a temporary expedient?

*

Until this is explained we must conclude that the Archbishop is still ethically, if not doctrinally, at one with the Communists.

As far as we can gather, the Archbishop and the Dean, the Anglican hierarchy and the Comintern, do not differ about means but only about ends.

If the desired end is the defence of this country from invasion or conquest, the Archbishop does not repudiate the obliteration of Russian cities and the killing, maiming and burning alive of Russian women and children.

Wherein such methods differ from anything the Communists might do is not apparent.

*

The Daily Mail, dealing with the same vexed question of the Dean's politics, says: "There is no common ground between pro-Communist and anti-Communist. Both inhabit different worlds. The first creed is out to kill the second by any means, fair and foul."

On the contrary, from the standpoint of fundamental moral law they stand on the same ground. Both believe in killing each other, should they think it necessary, by any means, fair or foul. And in war or revolution the means are inevitably foul.

The Archbishop has no logical reason for regarding his Dean's opinions with anything but tolerance, for they both subscribe to the same anti-Christian morality.

*

Therefore we regard the difference between the anti-Communist Archbishop and the pro-Communist Dean as utterly trivial.

Both these good men believe, with equal sincerity, in the doing of the most ghastly evil that good may come. And thus the ends for which each would use "these horrors" are totally irrelevant, for they would achieve the same result.

And while they maintain that position, both these Christian priests are playing a similar part in helping to weaken the steadily declining influence of the Church in the modern world and encouraging Christendom to ignore the most urgent problem that confronts it.

So long as they refuse to repudiate the use of these violent means for any use whatsoever they are both helping equally to prolong the agony of the Cross.

THE gravest threat to peace since the air-lift period in Berlin has been delivered in Korea. This is the third war to develop on the outskirts of China. The issues are the same as in Malaya and Indo-China.

The agony of the people over whom this war tramples will prove to be of the same intensity as elsewhere; the rubble of the villages will resemble rubble elsewhere.

But the political significance of this war is overwhelming, and people all over the world are being brought as a result to realise the appalling nature of the abyss over which we peer today.

Statesmanship yields to chaos

SO long as the differences among the Great Powers remain untackled, and indeed become greater every day, events are going to take charge, as they are doing at this moment.

Our Foreign Offices have virtually closed down, and in the silence of statesmanship the mailed fist is master.

In that chaotic situation what happens on the 38th Parallel in the Sea of Japan can shake London and Washington.

The last square inch

IT is clearer than ever now to what a ghastly impasse the late war, and the cold war that followed it, and the game of power politics of which both are the expression have brought the nations.

Korea is a pawn in the game; South Korea is the last square inch of territory on the mainland in the Chinese orbit (except Kowloon) to remain under Western influence. If South Korea goes America's chances of holding Japan are severely reduced.

Ranged behind the local protagonists, the Powers wait, knowing that neither can afford defeat.

Our long-term answer

NEW situations of this sort arise one after the other, in an endless series; and to each crisis there is no answer in current political terms, nor in terms of pacifist theory either.

They are eruptions of a deep-seated disease, which cannot be cured except by

way of the agonising and maybe slow, process of a great change of heart, a surrendering of individuals, and eventually of peoples, to the Spirit that, as George Fox said, "takes away the occasion of all wars."

Our long-term answer, therefore, has reference to a state of affairs hoped for but not yet in being. But if that vision is to come true those who have faith in it must start behaving now as if it had already come.

Immediate need

THAT is the long-term side of pacifism. At the same time we must urge our Government to seek every means to bring this war, and the whole Far East situation, within the orbit of statesmanship once more. On that level the terrible dangers which all sides are bringing on themselves can be appreciated in their true colours, and the merits of negotiation are seen far to outweigh those of a policy of threats.

Will Japan achieve real freedom?

IN the light of subsequent events in Korea the speech of Mr. John Foster Dulles in Tokio on June 22 acquires added significance.

Japan, he said, would have the opportunity and responsibility of choosing whether to belong to the free world or the captive world; and he added something further which seemed to indicate that the future of Japan from the military aspect is being considered. The real problem, he said, was how a disarmed Japan could be secure in the world of today.

That great Christian, Kagawa, believes that Japan is freer today than many a so-called free nation, just because she has no armaments. We pacifists believe that to arm Japan would be to place her in danger, not defend her from it; and that Germany and Japan may consider themselves happy to be, albeit unwillingly, the first nations to live without arms.

Violence no remedy: Strachey agrees

ONE notices with appreciation two statements by Ministers of the Crown recently.

James Hudson, the Quaker Member for North Ealing, who was questioning Ministers on their return from Malaya, was pressing on Mr. Griffiths the statement of Mr. Nehru in Singapore that violence was no remedy in the Malayan situation. Mr. Griffiths had said he hoped that the Communists would note Mr. Nehru's pronouncement, but had Mr. Griffiths made an attempt to bring home that point of view

to his colleague the Secretary of State for War?

To this sally Mr. Strachey replied: "I for one accept the view that we do not think the use of violence, unavoidable as it is today, is any remedy for this position, and that the final remedy must come by the social, economic and political development of Malaya."

On a long-term view, therefore, James Hudson and John Strachey are agreed.

A gesture?

THE other statement was by Lord Pakenham, in a generous and courteous reply to Lord Darnley's motion in the House of Lords. Lord Darnley, he said, had done right to insist that the Government, and all others who claimed to assert public influence should make doubly sure that no element of rancour or exasperation affected their attitude to the exponents of Communism.

He added: "I can assure the noble Earl that he need have no fears that we shall fail to make our contribution—and I am speaking solemnly for the Government—ever and whenever the Communists show any serious desire for relations of normal friendliness or mutual good faith, or show any signs of abandoning their present deliberate purpose of undermining ourselves and our Allies wherever they meet us in the world."

Little enough, perhaps, for a Minister to say, and he added that of course there were no such signs at present. But there were the makings of a bridge-building gesture there, and even such a mild hint has been unusual in Ministerial statements for some months past. It was something of a statesmanlike utterance—with which one might contrast, for instance the views of Lord Vansittart in the Daily Mail recently under the heading of "Rope in the Germans as Guerillas."

Example from Berlin

ELSEWHERE in this issue there is a reference to the World Citizens' League, 6,000 strong, working actively and very sensibly in Berlin. There is a mutual aid scheme inside the League for sharing the benefit of members' professional experience for the sake of the needier members.

This scheme radiates the very spirit which should be inside all pacifist movements. A world united and at peace! A great ideal—very well; we will act as if it had already come into operation. So the World Citizens' League starts right now shaping its course in the direction of practical brotherliness.

PATTERN FOR PEACE

By Eileen Fletcher

A PATTERN is defined as "a model from which something is to be made." The original has been tried out and found satisfactory.

That is why I venture to recommend this pattern, it has proved successful, I saw it evolved, and I saw it endure in unlikely conditions and through many obstacles over a period of two of the most difficult years of the war.

It was in a camp for Displaced Persons, in the heart of East Africa, to which came people of eight different nations, British, Africans, Indians, Italians, Poles, a Russian, a Goan, and a Dane; and of seven different Religions: Hindu Moslem, Jew, Roman Catholic, Church of England, Quaker, and Greek Orthodox. Through hardship and bitter suffering, and out of their dire need they hammered out the pattern.

The land was lent by the British and the Africans and they prepared the site and built the camp. Jungle and bush were cut back and attractive mud huts with thatched roofs erected by the Africans. Italian prisoners of war made doors and window frames, a Dane was in charge of the thousand African labourers, a Goan was quartermaster, and Indians did all the clerical work.

To this camp on the edge of Lake Victoria after an almost incredible journey came 3,000 displaced Poles who, forcibly evacuated by the Russians, had in 1942 been released from camps in Siberia and Russia.

The British Colonial Government lent two of its best Administrative Officers to succeed each other as Camp Commandant and the Poles settled down to build up a life such as they had lived in their villages at home.

The majority of them were Roman Catholics and first they built their Church. It was made of mud and wattle, purposely set on top of the hill so that all the roads of the camp led up to it. When it was ready to be roofed the Italian POWs offered to do the thatching as they had a far more decorative style than the Poles.

Workshops were set up in which the Poles carried on their traditional village industries of spinning, weaving and embroidery.

Polish and African peasants worked together at agriculture in a country where it is unusual for white people to do manual work. Africans caught fish in the Lake to sell in the camp, and African traders came and opened a market for eggs, fruit and

vegetables, under a Polish market keeper. Each nationality lived in its own group, from the common background of which it drew comfort, but there was much inter-visitation and both British and Poles shared the Administration.

Many festivals were celebrated which encouraged inter-group hospitality; for instance a St. George's Day Dinner given by the British Commandant, a Polish Independence Day Feast given by the Polish Officers, Traditional Polish Christmas Eve Parties, the Christmas Day Sports held annually by the Africans, and the Indian New Year Celebrations, were all red letter days.

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Somehow the Poles and Africans managed to make themselves understood to each other, and on one occasion when the British Commandant's African houseboy, envious of seeing the Poles learn English, borrowed a Primer from the English teacher and became so engrossed in teaching the rest of the house-staff English that he forgot to get the tea, the Commandant "in revenge" came and demanded to have tea with the English teacher.

Gradually through necessity and through increased understanding of one another and through learning at first hand their dependence on each other, a communal life was evolved.

The African tribe living in the surrounding country heard of the experiment from the African labourers and offered voluntary service for the upkeep of the single road leading into the camp.

Vegetation grows quickly in the tropics, and the Fruits of the Spirit also produced a satisfactory crop. Reconciliation took place between the one Russian and the Poles, there was peace between the Hindus and the Moslems, and between the Blacks and the Whites and the Indians. Love grew through service and all found a new joy in living.

Here in this strange settlement of over 4,000 people of eight countries and of seven religions, peace was built up, founded on personal relationships, and on mutual understanding. This is the important factor for a lasting peace. It is useless to strive for it between nations at Government level, and it cannot be won by war. It can only grow in the hearts of men through the individual will to understand each other.

Our generation knows more of other

countries and has had more individual contact with other nations than at any previous time, let us put this knowledge to good use. If every single person decides to avoid words and deeds which make for tension and misunderstanding the Spirit of Peace and Goodwill can grow and spread throughout the world. Wherever we are and whatever our work, we can share, here and now, in this positive peace building.

As Studdert Kennedy has said:
We'll build a mighty Temple for the
lovely Prince of Peace,
And the splendour of its beauty shall
compel all wars to cease
In men's hearts it shall be builded and
of spirits tried and true,
And its courts shall know no bound-ries
save the bound-ries of the blue.

FORGETFULNESS

IT has often been said that the financial difficulties of the PPU would largely be solved if we could call to collect money from those who would be quite willing to give when asked, or discover a way in which our friends could send money without having to write a cheque or go out to buy a postal order and send it by post.

As you read these appeals you may often think that you would like to respond to them—and then forget. If so, may I ask you to follow the example of the friend who sends £1 this morning with a message to say, "This is to make up for the many times I meant to send and then forgot."

We are completing the first half of the year and HQ Fund stands at rather less than £200. Our aim for the whole year is £650, so that there is a serious leeway to make up.

If you have not yet sent a contribution in 1950, is it because you do not think it necessary or because you are not interested, or because you cannot be bothered to buy a postal order, or because you have inadvertently omitted to do so?

It is essential that we should reach our aim if we are to balance our budget in six months' time. We can only do that with your help. Please send in your contribution this time before you forget.

STUART MORRIS

Our aim for the year: £650.
Total to date: £198 18s. 9d.
Amount still to raise: £451 1s. 3d.
Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

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What is Pacifism?

The following is a condensation of the views expressed by pioneer American pacifist, Jessie Wallace Hughan, of the War Resisters League in the USA. Originally published in *Pacific Views* during 1944, it has just been reprinted by the WRL in pamphlet form. Its essential simplicity is as great a recommendation as is the work and sincerity of its author.

PACIFISM is opposition to all war, offensive or defensive, international or civil, war being defined as the organised killing of one group by another.

War resister and conscientious objector are almost synonymous terms with pacifist, emphasising courses of action rather than philosophical basis. Such persons are easily identified.

What serious is the confusion of pacifists with what Harry Elmer Barnes (*Progressive*, Oct. 18, 1943) has termed "peace-lovers, persons who hate war, but make exceptions, who distinguish between good wars and bad wars, defensive and aggressive wars." These are a great and influential company, and include old-line peace societies, League of Nations advocates, Communists, and the majority of Socialists. Here and not in the pacifist ranks are to be found the "appeasers," the narrow type of isolationists, those who "rationalise every war in which their country is engaged as a different kind of war—a new and holy war," and who "all too frequently evolve, or devolve into war-mongers and thus seem to confer on any particular war the benediction of pacifism."

Non-resistance is not necessary to pacifism. While all non-resistants are pacifists, the converse is not true. The familiar question, "Would you fight to save your wife from attack?" has nothing to do with pacifism. War is organised killing of one group by another, and it is quite conceivable that a man who balks at dropping bombs on unknown foreigners may have no scruples as to saving life by shooting criminals. The fine distinctions between violence and non-violence made so much of by the disciples of Niebuhr, need trouble the pacifist not a whit.

The test of pacifism includes all the individuals who have stood firm through two wars, and provides the touchstone by which they have recognised one another for 25 years. There was no consternation among pacifists (in the USA in World War II) when Communists, America Firsters and others yielded one after another to the war propaganda. None of these declared their renunciation of all war; therefore we had never claimed them.

Pacifism is not necessarily a "way of life," but simply an uncompromising repudiation of all organised group killing. As each war resister may strive towards all-round perfection, he undoubtedly becomes more and more an asset to the Cause; yet the repudiation of all war makes even a faulty man a pacifist, just as abstention from animal food makes him a vegetarian, and voluntary sacrifice for his country makes him a patriot.

We must welcome Democrats, Republicans, Socialists, Jews, Christians and Atheists, Agrarians and Industrialists, saints and sinners, and we leave every man to reconcile his own way of life with the repudiation of all war.

Footnote: In Webster's International Dictionary, 1946, the word "pacifism" is defined as "Opposition to war or the use of military force for any purpose, especially an attitude of mind opposing all war, emphasising the defects of military training and the cost of war and advocating settlement of international disputes by arbitration; also the system of beliefs or opinions opposing war or the use of military force."

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WHY IS NEWS OF PEACE SUPPRESSED?

"News agencies must realise that they are not propaganda instruments"—Madras Guardian

Our correspondent in Calcutta has sent us a recent editorial from the *Madras Guardian*, a journal influential in both India and Pakistan. Our correspondent writes that this editorial struck him "as apposite to the present position of P.N. in British journalism." Readers will note that "The East" as seen from Madras is the Asiatic countries.

HEADED "Propaganda Or News," the Madras Guardian's editorial reads in part:

"During the course of a year or more, we have become used to news of war nearly as much as during the campaigns of the two world wars. The steady instalments of news are more wearing to the average citizen than the excitement of war. It is called a 'Cold War'; why it should be so when the speeches are enough to disturb every newspaper reader, it is difficult to understand.

"News is all concerned with Western Europe getting busy by economic, political, and military measures to meet a known enemy. All that is reported are utterances and plans of this statesman or that, and except where a statesman propounds a definite scheme, they are statements which are meant to influence the judgment of people.

Vested news?

"There is much artificiality in the news. Whether it is inspired propaganda or inefficiency of news service in limiting the range of information, one cannot assert with confidence. In either case the frequent plans we read of merely repeat the known fact that the nations are keyed up for a trial of strength.

"News is no index to the life of a country. A country that shuts out news is accused of mean censorship; another country out of which the main news that is spread abroad is limited to the war type to the exclusion of other aspects of life, cannot escape that charge.

"Vested interests are said to control news agencies, and are said to use them as their instruments. If this has happened in the case of war news, then let there be no talk of the freedom of news. News is an international link. The link that has been formed is no assurance of impartiality.

Dynamic peace moves

"More peace sentiment reigns in every country than is publicised, and there are more dynamic activities in the cause of peace, corresponding to the heightening in the tempo of war. The news agencies are either not aware of this, or suffer from the notion that information about such activity is not sufficiently important or exciting to be purveyed.

"It is not, of course, meant that peace

Forty organisations unite for World Government

OUTLINING its history and aims, the World Movement for World Federal Government has this to say of its organisation in a recent news letter: "This movement is not just one more international organisation adding to the great number already existing; it is the unique co-ordinating body and centre of action of world federalist movements in all countries."

Today, this body groups together seventy member organisations in 22 countries, and 34 federalist publications exist in many languages.

Conference, 1951

On June 11 the Council of the World Movement for World Federal Government met in Paris with representatives of various international organisations (Trade Unions, religious, cultural, political) in a Conference called by the World Movement with the object of reaching an agreement on broadening the base of a Congress to be held in Rome from Jan. 5-12, 1951.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, elected as conference chairman, said: "I do not regard World Federal Government as simply a means of preventing war; I regard it as a positive solution which, whilst complying with the highest aspirations of humanity, provides for the achievement of its most constructive aims."

Plans for the Rome conference are well established.

Amongst the forty organisations represented in Paris were the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, International Registry of World Citizens, World Federation of Associations for UN, French National Peace Council, YWCA, International Students Service, International Voluntary Service for Peace, French League for the Rights of Man, Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, International League of Women for Peace and Freedom, International Fellowship of Reconciliation, International Catholic Union of Social Service and the International Quaker Centre.

news at its best will compete with the words and works of statesmen. But peace is no longer the idea of any single religious group or of a few unimportant people in obscure corners. It is now a world sentiment strongly upheld by influential organisations. They and the war politicians have the same object but seek two different ways and both are equally entitled to publicity.

Asian viewpoint

"It will not be easy to change the methods of news organisations, but they must be made to realise that they have a share in working towards that end for which the world longs. They are news agents, not propaganda instruments.

"The East is particularly interested in requiring this change. Eastern countries, out of necessity because they do not have the means of war, provide the environment in which the peace plant will grow to robust strength. They must learn what elements there are in the West of the same mood.

"Constant injection of war news will cripple the sentiment natural to the East. Such news of war, and war preparations, will tend to belittle the views of men like Pandit Nehru as unrealistic and visionary."

STUDENTS TO MEET IN PRAGUE

ARRANGEMENTS have been made for a large group of British students to go to Prague for the second World Student Congress of the International Union of Students in August.

The total cost will be approximately £30. Registration forms should be immediately obtained from the Secretary of the nearest National Union of Students branch.

FACTS AND FIGURES

V. The Schuman Plan

AT last some of the "Schuman secrets," as the *Daily Herald* of June 22 termed the conditions of the establishment of a "supra-national authority," have been made public.

The basic concept of the "S Plan" is the creation of an autonomous directorate authorised to "integrate" Europe's steel output, to fix supply quotas for Marshall Aid countries which are to be treated as a "single market" and to determine prices "as low as possible" (while raising wages and standard of living "as high as possible").

The "authority" shall be made responsible to a "European Parliament" which should meet, similar to a general meeting of shareholders, once every year.

Students of constitutional matters, who know how much—or rather how little—effective control can be exercised by a minority party over the Executive's (Cabinet Government) Budget policy in Parliament, may have a good laugh at the naive suggestion that an annual session of a European Parliament—with a "public

He dropped first A-Bomb

"EVER since Nuremberg, we have been asking who is responsible for a given act of war: the man who orders it, the man who carries it out, or both?"

President Truman has manfully taken the responsibility for ordering the dropping of the first atomic bomb. Apparently he has not lost much sleep over the matter, for he has said that he would do it again if he found it necessary.

Not so Mr. Robert Lewis, formerly a bombardier in the United States Army Air Force.

It was Mr. Lewis who pressed the button which brought death to 80,000 people in Hiroshima. Now, according to *Le Devoir*, a Catholic newspaper published in Montreal, he has entered a monastery because he has "lost his inner peace."

Le Devoir asks pertinently how much inner peace is going to be lost in the next war, and "how many young men will be condemned to blow up whole towns with the hydrogen bomb."

—New Statesman, June 24

US CHURCH LEADER DECRIES WAR HYSTERIA

Minneapolis, USA

"WAR hysteria" was decried here by Dr. T. O. Burnvedt, Minneapolis, in his annual message as president of the 55,000-member Lutheran Free Church.

Reporting to delegates assembled for the Church's 54th annual conference, Dr. Burnvedt said:

"Throughout the year since we last met we have been exposed to war talk and war scare by Statesmen and Radio and Press commentators

"It seems as though our nation and the other leading nations in the world have become so paralysed with fear of a third world war that they are powerless to think thoughts of peace and to stem the rising tide of suspicion, misunderstanding and hatred."

He warned that total destruction of our civilisation and annihilation of the human race are in prospect if war breaks out.

—RNS

WORLD PRODUCTION OF STEEL, 1914-1949.

In millions of tons (2,240 lbs.)	1914	1929	1932	1937	1944	1947	1949
U.K.	7.84	9.64	5.26	12.98	12.14	12.72	15.55
U.S.	23.51	56.43	13.68	50.57	80.04	75.80	69.53
Germany	13.59	15.99	5.68	17.22	16.21	3.12	9.01
France	2.61	9.54	5.55	7.79	3.04	5.64	8.96
Belgium	1.37	4.04	2.75	3.80	0.62	2.84	3.78
Italy	0.90	2.09	1.37	2.05	1.01	1.66	2.01
Luxemb'g	1.12	2.65	1.92	2.47	1.25	1.69	2.23
USSR	4.66	4.92	5.83	17.54	11.81	13.78	
Japan	0.40	2.26	2.36	5.71	5.82	0.92	3.01

Source: British Iron and Steel Federation, Statistical Yearbook.

The most striking feature of the above table is the range of fluctuations in output (See USA in the 1929-boom and 1932-depression).

A warning signal, that "by 1953 Europe will be producing about eight million tons more steel a year than can either be used at home or sold abroad," has been sounded by the UN Economic Commission for Europe.

Commenting on the Report of the ECE, the *Manchester Guardian* stated on Jan. 5, 1950, that the target of the British steel industry is an output of 18 million tons in 1953 and that the British Iron and Steel Federation intends to proceed with the development plans "as agreed with the Government."

According to the Iron and Steel Act,

1949, which provides for the nationalisation of all large firms in 1951, the new "British Iron and Steel Corporation" should carry out the reorganisation and new development of the industry "in accordance with a general programme settled from time to time with the approval of the Minister of Supply" (Part I, sec 4/i). Obviously the Corporation cannot serve two "masters," the Minister who is responsible to Parliament and the "authority" who is answerable to an annual meeting of a European Parliament.

From the point of view of practical policy, the relevant question is the euphemistically called "surrender of national sovereignty," that is the central direction of sterling production by an "economic general staff" of the principal countries adhering to the Atlantic Pact. F.R.

JOHN HOYLAND reviews VERA BRITAIN'S new book "In the Steps of John Bunyan" (Rich and Cowan, 15s.)

ONE OF GREAT BRITAIN'S REBELS

JOHN BUNYAN stands in the forefront of those great rebels who have defied the tyrannical State, and broken bad laws, and taken the consequences by bearing acute personal suffering, in obedience to conscience and in loyalty to the call of God.

To him, and to the early Quakers, we owe the establishment of religious liberty in our own country and far beyond. Therefore there is urgent reason that all who believe in asserting the liberty of conscience against the claims of the war-making and war-preparing State, which claims today seem almost irresistible, should study the example of this great Conscientious Objector.

In her delightful volume published yesterday Vera Britain has made this task easy. Her book is enriched by 56 excellent illustrations of the Bunyan country, a number of which are taken from interesting old prints.

It is an extraordinarily well documented work, and is fitted with a formidable bibliography, but at the same time it is written in so readable, indeed conversational, a manner that the four hundred odd pages fly past disconcertingly quickly. An amazing amount of local lore, and of historical detail, has been packed in: but in so skilfully unobtrusive a manner that all this is absorbed as one goes along and quite painlessly.

Inevitably there are one or two small mistakes which should be corrected before the appearance of that second edition, which is sure to be called for soon. Laud and the Quakers, for example, did not overlap in time. One doubts a "concentration of bulls" were they not bullocks? Surely the "extinguisher-spire" of Elstow Church is not upside down! It seems strange to speak of Milton and Hyde (Clarendon) as "virtual twins." Lilburne would have savagely rebutted the charge of being "gentlemanly." Buckinghamshire was not a "stronghold of the Quakers" by 1644. The Levellers would not have liked to be called non-religious, nor to be equated with the Diggers. There were no "police" in 1664 to catch John Donne.

New Pamphlets and Periodicals

Wall Street's Drive to War by James Klugmann, cr. 8vo. 20 pp. (London: The Communist Party, 3d.)

The word *drive* (except in the compound whist-drive) usually means a deliberate and forceful progress, and this pamphlet seeks to prove that the American financiers and stockholders, having found the last two wars highly profitable, are making a determined drive towards a third one.

Certainly the numerous quotations from what has been said and written by soldiers, politicians and businessmen make startling material, but they do not prove the author's case. They are only evidence of a fact already well-known: that a very considerable number of people in America have worked themselves up into a state of almost hysterical panic at what they believe to be the menace of Communism.

Men in this condition do and say almost incredibly foolish things, and it would be wrong to minimise the danger to peace when they are the men responsible for the policy and conduct of the most powerful nation in the world. The immediate need is to reduce the tension; it is doubtful whether this can be achieved by collecting the wildest statements of harassed and sometimes distraught men and publishing them as evidence of a coherent policy of satanic character.

Lifeline, No. 11. d.8vo. 64 pp. and cover illustration (London: Gray's Inn Chambers, High Holborn, 3s. 6d.)

This is a nicely produced quarterly edited by Noel Wynyard. The six articles in the present issue include one by Michael Scott on the Indo-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir in which he maintains that the only way to settle the matter is for both the dominions to withdraw and a neutral force to take over the administration until the inhabitants are able and competent to declare their will in favour of one of the possible regimes: accession to India or Pakistan, condominium, partition, independence or U.N. Trusteeship. The other articles, including even the excellent one on "The Law and the Dominions" by Richard Fitzgerald, evoke a nostalgia, now faint, now strong, for things that were. The standard of writing is high, so that even a teetotaler shared Frances Faure's regret that the inn is becoming a road-house, and a plebeian sighed with Peter Stucley that the aristocratic Devonshire houses where he spent his boyhood no longer keep their state.

(Continued on page eight)

Mad-dog bites result in hydrophobia rather than in "septicaemia." But these are trivial details which it is ungracious to mention. The book as a whole is planned and executed with eminent skill, so as to fix our attention upon a valiant peasant-soul, who by his unswerving loyalty to truth won us that liberty which in our own day we are letting drop from our nerveless hands.

To those of us, and they will be many, who were brought up from childhood on the "Pilgrim's Progress," and taught to regard it as only one small stage less inspired than the Bible—(some of us indeed secretly preferred it, because it was so melodramatically illustrated—oh that fearsome battle against Giant Despair, and that other, even more fearsome, against Apollyon!)—a chief delight in Vera Britain's fascinating volume will be the manner in which she identifies in one spot after another, of Bunyan's environment the original of scenes later to appear undyingly amidst the adventures of Christian and Christiana. The House Beautiful, the Interpreter's House, the Delectable Mountains (and are not the Chilterns truly delectable?), Vanity Fair, Lord Hategood, and so forth: they are all there: and some of us will regard the hitherto rather overlooked beauties of Bedfordshire with a very different eye in future.

Vera Britain claims, and no doubt with justice, that the *Pilgrim's Progress* is the fountain-head of the English novel. One may perhaps be pardoned for regarding the claim, although it is no doubt amply justified, with a measure of indifference. So sorely muddled a stream, from so sweet and sparkling and clear a source! GBS once spoke of Bunyan as "better than Shakespeare"—well, in one sense at any rate. This supreme masterpiece of the Christian, State defying soul, came direct from prison, and from prison endured for truth's sake. Giant Despair's dungeon was not imaginary. As we face prison for loyalty to the Truth as God has shown it to us in our own day, may we return to this chaste and lovely spring, the *Pilgrim's Progress*, and read and reread Vera Britain's book about it and about its stalwart lovable author.

"The events of the last twelve years have completely changed the nature, outlook and realities of human life," writes WILFRED WELLOCK.

A NEW INQUIRY

THE events of the last twelve years have completely changed the nature, outlook and realities of human life in every aspect, political, economic, social, religious, here and in every land.

Hence the time has fully come to take account of these changes, to appraise their significance and portent, and thus to what extent they call for integral modifications in our policies and institutions.

The appalling fact is that the whole world has been moving almost entirely under the impact of internally and externally caused momentum which it never stopped to ponder, criticise or question.

The result is that even those politicians who are taking a dominant part in determining world policies are wholly at sea in regard to the future either of the world at large or of their own countries.

Neither Mr. Truman and his advisers, nor Sir Stafford Cripps and his advisers are able to forecast their own immediate economic future. They openly admit this.

Obviously, therefore, civilisation has got out of hand; and well it might, for it is uncontrolled by any spiritual principles or values.

Many nations, like Germany and Japan, lie helpless in a misery they are unable to escape, vainly trying to operate an economy which no longer fits into world realities. France is in much the same plight, and is only saved from collapse by American dollars. And where would Britain be but for American dollars?

The United States has turned on all the taps of invention at the full, whence she is draining the resources of nature to exhaustion in order to achieve the highest possible standard of material living, and latterly to prop up a rising number of tottering national economies in order to stave off the menace of Communism.

The rest, including China and India, are being encouraged to enter the very path that has led to the present deadlock. Large-scale industrialisation is being backed in order to defeat capitalism in China and Communism in India. Between them, these two "isms" are rocking the world to its doom. Both the United States and Soviet

Once bitten, twice shy!

The Proper Study of Mankind. An Inquiry into the Science of Human Relations, by Stuart Chase. Phoenix House, 16s.

"THIS book," Mr. Chase begins, "is an attempt to explore the possibilities of applying the scientific method, which has proved so successful in problems of matter and energy, to the problems of human relations." In other words, if we fall in love and have difficulty in adjusting ourselves to the new heaven and earth in our hearts and loins, we invoke the "method" which produced the atomic bomb in order to regain some kind of equilibrium. Likewise, if we find ourselves xenophobes in a gregarious world, or if a friend deceives us, or if a taxi-driver snarls at us because we give him an insufficient tip, the paraphernalia of research, Gallup polls, statistics and what-not will put us on an even keel again.

Social science, moreover, will both make our wars efficient and simultaneously prevent them. Courage. Mr. Chase tells us, was the criterion of a man's capacity to drop bombs in 1914; but by 1941 we had changed all that. "Scientists were put to work designing planes, and social scientists were put to work designing pilots."

Mr. Chase tells us how it was done: "The individual must be encouraged to think that his death, if it comes, will be worth while."

Relative value

Mr Chase once asked a number of social scientists to recall "regrettable examples where accredited knowledge was available and not used." They mostly cited the obstinacy of Army and Navy brass-hats "who refused to let the scientists have enough scope in helping to run the war." They complained that "social science was not adequately used even in psychological warfare—where it would have been invaluable." Invaluable in perfecting human relations?

Anthropology, sociology, psychology, politics and economics; Mr. Chase works his way through the whole bag of tricks and reveals himself on every page as a man at one with the world he seeks to reform. He knocks down like ninepins our saving graces—our passions and intuitions, our courage and folly—and busies himself in setting up the familiar dreary hell of godliness, knowledge, rationalism, and "planetary morals above and beyond Buddhist or Christian or Moslem orthodox rules and codes."

Once bitten, twice shy. It is not two decades since Mr. Chase took hold of us

with his *Men and Machines*; and in the interval he has preached half-a-dozen varying gospels of salvation. One such was the panacea of semantics; and in the course of his explorations of the persuasive theme in *The Tyranny of Words* he said: "Experience is determined only by experience. This means that we must give up the demand that the world outside be embraced in any one formula." Why then try to embrace it in the formula or formulae of social science?

J. P. HOGAN

HE REMAINS A PILOT

Every Day Sermons, By The Rev. Don Robins, Series I and II. Published by his wife, Alva Robins, and obtainable from 8 St. Roberts Gardens, Knaresborough. 4s.

PERHAPS the only extract from a pacifist address which the BBC has twice relayed on its Home Service and once on the Midland Regional was one taken from a sermon delivered by Don Robins on the first Sunday of the last war.

Robins had won the AFC as a pilot in the First World War and had then become a successful and well paid civilian pilot, but he had perplexed most of those who admired his skill and courage by abandoning his promising career and becoming not only a clergyman but also a pacifist. He remained until the end of his short life—he was still under 50 when he died—a fighter by inclination and a pacifist by conviction. Those to whom pacifism comes naturally and Christianity seems irrelevant may not therefore find much in these two small volumes of sermons which will seem to them especially helpful.

It was when he had turned a rather depressing Leeds Church into a great centre of social and religious activity—though Don would not have distinguished between the two, holding that the social work was part of the normal action of the Christian family which gathered in St. George's Church—that he uttered the words the BBC has recorded. As the war opened he announced that he remained a pacifist and was ready to resign his charge of the Church, if the people he had got together during the years of peace desired him to do so. Very wisely they made no such request and throughout the war, both those in the fighting services and those who were enthusiastic pacifists looked to him for leadership and were not disappointed.

Each Saturday evening Don Robins used to dictate his sermons to one of his voluntary workers and although he did not use in the pulpit the manuscript she then produced, he did see that each one was retained and properly filed away. What his wife has now published is just a very small selection of the many hundreds of addresses he has left behind him. She has certainly been able to print something far more vivid and helpful than anything usually associated with the formal and forbidding name of sermon.

In Don Robins the ordinary man with all his enthusiasms and perplexities, at last finds a spokesman; the inarticulate is given a tongue. But yet these sermons are not just the words of one muddled man speaking to others equally muddled, for Don Robins, with characteristic energy, had pushed much further down the road than most and could see much that had not yet come within the vision of his fellows.

Here is to be found eloquence without affectation, a simple vocabulary used with all the strength of simplicity. The subjects considered are as varied as "Humility—the Essential Virtue" and "What will you do with Jesus?" on the one hand; "The Meaning of Success," "Living Carelessly" and "The Personal Problems of Life" on the other. Although some readers may not share Don Robins' love for poetry or, rather, love for the poetry he loved, there will be many who, reading these "Everyday Sermons" will be most grateful for what they find there and will wish they could know more of this man and the message he delivered so well by word and even so much better by his whole manner of life.

(Rev.) PAUL GLIDDON

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THE SHAPE OF THINGS TO COME ?

LORD DARNLEY'S PLEA FOR PEACE

Lords debate "reorganising of human society"

WAR as a means of righting wrongs and abolishing evil-doers has been "proved not to have the value of one tortured child's life," Lord Darnley declared in the House of Lords last week when he made a moving appeal for a fresh approach to the problems confronting the world today.

The Earl of Darnley, a vice-president of the National Peace Council, asked the Government whether they would "take the initial steps towards the reorganisation of human society, now in danger of collapse, to secure its survival."

Human society, Lord Darnley said, had now arrived at the crossroads and had to make up its mind whether it would continue to try and obtain its ideals in the future by war and bloodshed, which would assuredly end it, or whether it would try and find new methods of gaining these ideals.

He continued: To reorganise human society is, to say the least of it a tall order; but if it is going to risk its total disappearance if it remains as at present, it is a tall order that must be attacked, whatever its height.

Respite before destruction

Humanity is having a brief respite between two eras of destruction and misery, the second of which appears at the moment to be inevitable and must inevitably finish it off.

After six years of unlimited gallantry and self-sacrifice there is hardly a soul alive who is not bereaved, hopeless, reactionary and self-seeking. Horrible death has torn large holes in nearly every family, not only of their gallant combatant sons, but of their helpless women, old men and children. Displacement and torture have accounted for many millions more.

Communism, which is a reactionary process born of misery, is in charge of half the globe; and crime has increased enormously, even among juveniles.

Those left alive and well, and supposed to be basking in the air of freedom, are inhibited by taxes and restrictions of all kinds due to shortages of all the necessities of life.

It makes one wonder what the many forms of efficient and beautiful created things would say of the human race if they could only speak.

The birds look at humanity

In the Sunday Times on May 14 were these lines:

"But what really amuses us is that we

Ten Years Ago

From Peace News, June 28, 1940

A tribunal for conscientious objectors I believe, recently thought an applicant was talking foolishly when he told them in answer to a question that if he saw a German parachutist he would offer him a cup of tea.

Perhaps it was because fraternisation with the enemy is one of the things authorities most dislike, at any rate the idea was not impracticable.

Mrs. Dan Hills, living in Cambridge, told the News Chronicle last week how two Nazi women who had been shot down appeared on the roadway by her gate and called for food please.

"I said to my daughter, 'They can shoot them, and so I thought we had better give them some food.'

"I quite forgot that we had been told not to give the Germans food in such circumstances and I hoped I did not do wrong, but they were simply ravenous and I felt quite sorry for them."

"They were very nice and polite to us and thanked me very much indeed. 'The officer spoke good English.'

"A little while later we heard footsteps and saw the LDVs coming up with my husband."

"The Germans went up to our men quite calmly and unconcernedly and put their hands up and surrendered without any trouble at all."

Before they were taken away (added the News Chronicle) the two Germans were taken by a man and his two stalwart sons to their farm for a couple of hours. They chatted with their captors during this time and were given cigarettes.

birds should be called 'backward, primitive and disgusting' by a member of the human race. When the day comes on which we are cumbered about with ration and identity cards; when our more energetic members must purchase passports for their migratory flights; when we kill for the sake of pebbles, and tear up the surface of the good earth in pursuit of what you men term 'wealth,' then we may be termed 'backward.' Until that day, we rest secure upon our ordered lives, showing our great wisdom in having no worries."

Is that true or is it not? What is the great "Why" of all this?

The great "Why" is surely this: that the human race will continue to believe that it can right wrongs and abolish wrongdoers—there are plenty of both—and achieve peaceful solutions by murder and battle.

These solutions have been proved not to have the value of one tortured child's life, and now it is absolutely proved that they cannot effect such solutions.

All that a trial by force can produce in the future is a debilitated and crime-ridden human race.

Is it not time that a new basis was organised to ensure human society's survival? Is this not the one and only and last possible moment?

I realise that action for peace without battle is apt to be suspect, but I hope to be able to prove to your Lordships this time, quite conclusively, that action for peaceful solutions does not imply an admiration for aggressors and their policies, nor dislike for one's country, nor the desire to lie down and be conquered, but springs from a firm conviction that wars should not arise, nor aggressors, and if they do it is a position to which everybody has contributed.

The point to aim at is one in which they cannot exist, and in which the so-called necessity for war terminates.

If there is any truth in the old adage that it takes two to make a quarrel, then everybody is, unconsciously perhaps, responsible for every war in history. For wars are man made, and not created by providence to plague poor humanity.

Basis for a new society

I would suggest a basis for the re-organisation of human society in the following way:

Everything that exists, including the human race, is part of existence, the eternal plan, or anything else which, in complete ignorance of its composition, we like to call it.

But the human race is the only part of existence with sufficient intelligence to think that they are soloists, and can plan their actions *ad libitum*, according to their limited knowledge, not realising that without the aid of eternity they cannot even get out of bed, put on their trousers and eat their breakfast.

The rest live attached by instinct to eternity, and therefore manage to protect themselves by obeying its rules, and remain much the same throughout all the confusion that humanity devises for itself.

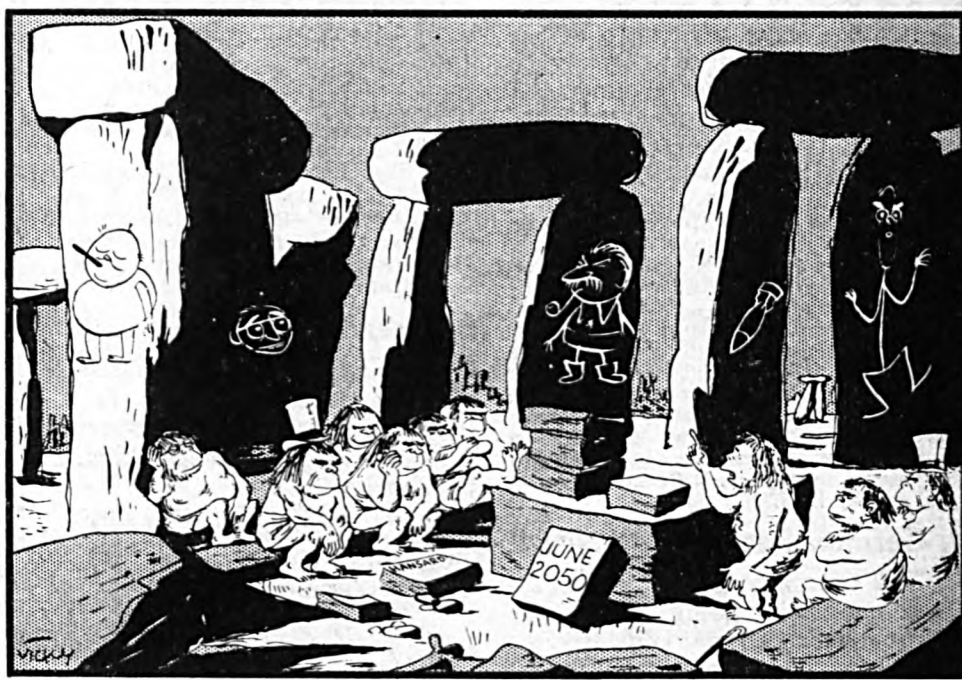
But the human race have had prophets and wise men who have told them the rules of eternity, and as they profess to believe them absolutely it follows as night follows day that if they had followed those rules they would have protected not only the numbered hairs of their heads, but themselves as well from wars and aggressors and the necessity of turning civilisation upside down to deal with them.

The initial step necessary to save human society is for some nation—preferably this one—to start the world on its new role as carriers out of the orders of eternity.

How the Church should lead

The Church might give a good lead: this body has definite orders from its Originator that the taking of human life is forbidden.

Would its members therefore consider expressing willingness—not, of course, unilaterally, but in agreement with the other sections of the belief—to scrap Article 37, which allows believers to go to war, and be honest about this particular order which was certainly given them by their Founder?



"For the second time in history may I ask the right hon. gentlemen what initial steps they are proposing to take towards the reorganisation of human society, now in danger of collapse. . . ?"

(Reproduced by courtesy of Vicky and the News Chronicle)

If they would only agree to do this, then could the politicians and people duly follow their lead, and something could be done in place of the universal negative discussions which we hear, not only in this House but in every house where things are discussed—"failure discussions" as someone described them to me.

Neither devils nor angels

The chief bugbear of the Western world is now Communism under the aegis of Russia. I do not believe that the Russians are either all devils, as some speakers try to make out, or all angels, as other people go to great pains to make us believe, but merely human beings who, in consequence of great suffering and misery over a very long period, have adopted a hostile ideology, but who are nevertheless equally amenable to the orders of eternity like everyone else.

I suggest that this country should send an invitation to the leaders of the Russian nation and the USA to come and stay here; persuade them that they should stop sending each other rude notes but see that, though they may not like each other or approve each other, they should nevertheless get together and formulate some plan of peaceful co-existence in order that the peace-loving human beings of the world may regain their hope and security.

I assure you that every soul in the world, whether black, white or yellow, whether good, bad or indifferent, is craving for this moment.

There have been encouraging signs lately. There have been resolutions in both Houses of Congress in the U.S. aimed at stopping the armaments race and ensuring a just peace; and there have been the journeys of Mr. Trygve Lie and his resulting statement.

The supreme mistake

It is no good raising hopes that nations will recoil for superior strength. That is a very great mistake.

A letter in a Sunday paper last week reads:

"The only possible answer to the bully nation is for all the rest to get together and declare their wholehearted intention of fighting to the last ditch."

This maybe a very fine and brave sentiment, but it does not bear the light of reason.

Who is going to say who is the bully nation?

Everybody thinks that everybody else is the bully nation. And fighting in the last ditch is going to involve everybody as well as the bully nation. We want the view from the first eminence, and not the myopia from the final cesspool.

A good many of the terms used in international politics in the past will eventually become redundant. I refer to such expressions as "Power pacts," "Power politics," "Defensive treaties," "Bad and good leaders and nations," and many others.

They will all have to be merged in a co-operative scheme for the good of human society as a whole to save it from being blown to pieces by atomic and other horrific methods.

The people of the world are sick to death of it all . . . bloody-minded and reactionary; and it is now or never for someone to come forward with a new plan after the orders of their highest and greatest wisdom to restore human hope and morale.

There is something badly needed today in the affairs of mankind. It is something that the hosts of philosophers and wise men

never succeeded in obtaining or bringing to realisation, although their many volumes litter our shelves.

The reason is that they have never discovered that the knowledge lies in the acceptance of being and in following its simple rules; something that no gallant warrior, with his guns and swords and bombs, can ever achieve, nor any politician with his Power pacts and Power politics. Because force will never find it.

The debate

Subsequent speakers in the debate were Lord Noel-Buxton who appealed for a "new land-awareness" and an equal balance between town and country.

Lord Calverley (Labour Peer who started work in a mill at the age of ten) warned against giving either Russia or America the impression that Britain was a self-righteous nation and quoted the father of a German PoW recently returned from Russia: "The (Russian) people on the countryside treated my son with great kindness and he has not a wrong word to say or criticism to make of them."

Viscount Cecil of Chelwood (85-year-old League of Nations leader) agreed with Earl Darnley that force, by itself, was no remedy.

Lord Blackford (Conservative MP for N Croydon 1922-40 and Director of the Midland Bank) complained that all Earl Darnley really preached was Christian pacifism and that "our right arm is dropping with the fatigue of holding its hand out stretched for so long" to Russia.

Lord Mountevans (Admiral "Evans of the Broke" and member of Scott's Antarctic expedition), "I wholeheartedly support the Noble Earl (Darnley)."

Lord Pakenham (Minister of Civil Aviation) said it would be dishonest and misleading to give rise to the idea that in the eyes of HM Government a Christian policy means a policy of absolute pacifism. He placed all the blame for the present tension on to the Soviet Union and advocated a policy of peace through strength.

PALMER'S Green 4745

R. J. Bailey

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Service with a smile

"DEEDS not words," if not always the motto of the peace movement will surely be its epitaph. The common denominator of service spans the world; and unlike military service, it is voluntarily and ungrudgingly given.

The work of IVSP teams in India at the Faridabad new township, E. Punjab, has been so successful that the Pakistan authorities have now accepted an offer of service in Karachi next autumn. In spite of generous contributions, the India Fund deficit is still £99 and a special appeal is being launched to wipe this off in encouragement of the Pakistan project. All offers of help will be welcomed by the Secretary, International Voluntary Service for Peace, 3 Cromwell Road, London, S.W.7.

German Pacifist's Activities

IN Germany, too, much useful work is going on, under conditions of great difficulty.

The Berlin group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation has carried on in the face of poverty, unemployment and blockade. Members are working with refugees, old people and juvenile prisoners. Last year a public memorial was held for Mahatma Gandhi, whose biography by Walter Maas has been published in Berlin. Another member, Marie Horstmeier, has issued a life of Albert Schweitzer. On June 21 the annual memorial service was observed at the grave of Hermann Stohr, who was executed as a Christian war-resister.

Also active in Berlin is the World Citizens League, with a membership of six thousand, including some in the Soviet sector and Eastern zone of Germany.

Among the WCL's most interesting activities is a mutual aid scheme whereby members give free professional help, such as medical or legal advice, for one hour per week to needy world-citizens.

A Children's Department has been started by Mrs. Helmrich-Hardt, accommodated in the British Army Education Centre, who broadcasts fortnightly on its development.

Towards Understanding

THE care of the weak and helpless is a special concern of the peace-maker.

American pacifists in Civilian Public Service hospital units are taking the sting out of the snake-pit. This work in mental hospitals, described in the "Gospel Messenger," demands patience, understanding, reassurance, and love. Even the most maladjusted patients, says one volunteer, can recognise this attitude. "Every little bit of love and kindness is helpful as a treatment on the road to recovery."

The benefit is not confined to patients; workers gained wider understanding and psychological insight from the experience, a big step on the road to peace. By applying these principles, "we begin to understand ourselves and be capable of solving our problems; then logically the peoples of the world will begin to understand themselves and be able to solve their problems."

Labour of Love

EVEN in the welfare state, small voluntary cells can provide a much-needed personal service.

One such is the Stone Bower Fellowship, near Carnforth, which has now completed its tenth year of work. Concerned mainly with old people, the hostel is staffed by pacifist volunteers on a maintenance and pocket money basis. Since the National Assistance Act came into force, financial assistance has provided maintenance for the aged, but overhead expenses must still be met by donations and subscriptions.

Despite state development of Old People's Homes, writes the Warden, Fred Hellowell, "we still feel that this expression of Christian Voluntary Service—of giving one's labours and talents for those in need, without thought of reward, is necessary and is right for us."

Empty Pews

EMPTY pews in churches need not cause despair, said the Rev. J. H. R. Gibson, Moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in

his inaugural address at Belfast early this month.

Churchianity "should not be confused with Christianity, he said. In the past the Churches had been filled, but with too many passengers. "If the filled pews of earlier days had been filled not with mere formalists but with real Christians two World Wars would not have been possible."

The real test of a Church, said the Moderator, was in its works. "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Progression

THE application of Christian standards is urged in a letter to the "Eastbourne Gazette" by Mr. L. G. Kirkham, pacifist bookseller.

As we have progressively disregarded the law of love, he writes, so progressively has grown our armaments expenditure. . . . we so blind that we do not see the connection? . . . Hate, like love, comes back to us in kind. Britain, with a neutrality based on fundamental spiritual laws, could lead the world into a new and peaceful way of life.

Education for peace

THE four daughters of Queen Juliana of the Netherlands are being taught their three R's (and much more besides) at the pioneer pacifist school of Dr. Kees Boeke at Bilthoven.

Founder of both the War Resisters' International and Fellowship of Reconciliation in Holland, Dr. Boeke's long struggle to live as a Christian pacifist, at times on terms of total non-co-operation with the State, has finally been rewarded by a government subsidy for his work in education.

Unrepresentative Nations

PERHAPS women could clear up the mess in the United Nations.

Mrs. Ruth Gage-Colby, an observer at UNO for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, deprecates the present system of government-elected representatives. This means that representatives are political figures—and, she says, "today political figures pay most attention to military counsel."

Mrs. Colby, who has been on a speaking tour in California, also said that American shortcomings were plain to the world; Russian propaganda did not need to manufacture a single lie. "All she has to do is to select choice items from our Press." Pleading support for the Tydings and McMahon disarmament proposals, she said that Senator McMahon had received more letters from abroad than from the United States.

Katharine Bruce Glasier

WITH the death of Katherine Bruce Glasier, the Labour and pacifist movement loses another of its great pioneers.

Obituaries in the daily Press were generous, but only the Manchester Guardian mentioned the pacifism that must have been an integral part of her socialism. Writing to Peace News in 1947, Mrs. Glasier said: "True socialism is not class war but the economic and political fruit of the spirit of the whole—love, joy, peace—and organising hatred (as Tagore wrote) where we are dimly seeking to realise the organic unity of the human race is just insane."

Curiouser and Curiouser

NOTING that a "much smaller but more powerful A-bomb is to be made," reader S. D. Smith of Wakefield sends the following comment on this "improvement."

The backroom boys have seen the light
And quote Ben Jonson with delight:
"It is not growing like a tree
In bulk, doth make bombs better
be."
Sick of mere size, they spare us
from
A bigger and a better bomb.
Production goes into reverse
To give us smaller bombs—and
worse.

MARGARET TIMS

PACIFIST PARADE

Letters to the Editor

The Politics of "Keeping Out"

A VITAL issue in the Joad-neutrality controversy which so far has escaped discussion demands our serious consideration.

Joad issued this challenge:

"Has pacifism nothing at once more realistic and more constructive to offer towards the relief of our present predicament?"

Unless pacifists are able to answer that question I do not think they have a case against Joad's conclusions.

As readers of Peace News know, I have been contending for some years that the pacifism most of us have supported and proclaimed during the last thirty years or more is played out and that without a complete change of values which would call for revolutionary changes in our national economy and social structure, that pacifism has no validity today.

The root evil in our civilisation is a devouring and growing materialism which springs from the divorce of economics and ethics in our industrial system, whence the lure of profits has been democratised in unrestricted standards of material living, and now affects all classes.

The logical outcome is a growing rivalry to achieve the USA living standards, the consequence of which will be new international struggles to acquire maximum supplies of the earth's limited resources, and thus for the markets whereby to do this.

From this situation I deduce the answer to Dr. Joad's question. It is that the only hope of escaping future wars and indeed of insuring survival, is the substitution of spiritual for material ends, of culture and vocation for lucrative posts and social status, and of a qualitative for a quantitative civilisation.

Unless this course is taken, the fear of economic breakdown through the failure of supplies, and therefore of Communism, will prevent either disarmament or the adoption of neutrality as a policy. That will be especially true of the countries with unbalanced agro-industrial economies.

The only condition which can sustain a policy of neutrality with confidence is an economic policy which reduces a nation's economic dependence upon the earth's resources to the minimum, and which thereby enables it to develop an enormous internal strength and a powerful moral reserve.

Cyril Hughes gives interesting evidence of a wide support in France for a policy of neutrality. Now this, as I am sure C.H. would agree, is mainly due to the recognition that a war between America and Russia in which France took part, would quickly develop into a social revolution in view of the great strength and influence of the Communist Party. Hence it is the weakness of fear, not the strength of a sound economic policy that is behind the neutrality movement in France. For that reason it will be highly unstable and unpredictable.

The countries that are best able to adopt a neutrality policy are those which have a reasonably balanced economy, and are able to feed themselves in a time of crisis, and where the tensions which produce ideological clashes are weakest—such, e.g., as Switzerland and most of the Scandinavian countries, also India.

WILFRED WELLOCK

12 Victoria Avenue,
Quinton, Birmingham 32.

Why go back so far?

OUR warlike friends are continually reminding us of the gallant deeds done by men like Drake and General Wolfe, but why go back hundreds of years? Why not brag about what the Allies did at Hiroshima?

That was on a far bigger scale than any attempt by Drake or Wolfe.

HAROLD C. LANDER

Four Elms,
28 High Oaks Road,
Welwyn Garden City.

United Nations Achievements

MAY I enter a mild protest against the vicious attack in your issue of June 16 on our pamphlet, "World Front 1950"? No sane person could describe the section on the Berlin blockade as "gloating." Nobody who took the trouble to read the pamphlet would write that "too great a portion" of its 64 pages was devoted "to proving how split the nations are." Nobody who had ever seen the UN Charter would pounce on a phrase as "revealing" that the Charter approves the use of force; of course it does.

Your reviewer is, of course, fully entitled to question whether U.N. has achieved anything; it is a pity, though, that he neatly avoids mentioning any one of the many achievements recorded. And his remark about the USSR is a curious little travesty of the passage he is criticising.

ANDREW BOYD

United Nations Association,
11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

World Front 1950

I SHOULD like to protest against the false impression given by your contributor "PCR" in reviewing the pamphlet, "World Front, 1950," by Andrew Boyd and myself. Our primary aim has been to record recent international events as seen from a United Nations angle. Far from being anti-Soviet we have attempted to be

scrupulously objective in surveying "East-West" relations.

The pamphlet is concerned not only with political issues but with making known the positive achievements of the United Nations in the social, economic and educational fields—its work in caring for and re-setting refugees, in immunising millions of children against TB, and in fighting disease in several continents with every resource of modern science, to mention only a few activities. Your reviewer gives no hint that we are concerned with these positive aspects of the struggle for peace.

ROBERT GREACEN

Assist. Ed. United Nations Association,
11 Maiden Lane, W.C.2.

Universal Communism

WHY is pacifism supposed to be confined and associated with religion and "Christians?"

As an atheist, I have been a pacifist since my early days, during the Boer War, but the actual proportion of so-called Christians who are, is very small. Most are supporters of All Wars, and glorify them in their churches.

What a travesty of the teachings of the founder—Jesus Christ who was undoubtedly a teacher of the Communist ideology.

After 50 years of wars in various parts of the world, I have reached the conclusion that the only preventative of wars is universal Communism.

When that applies (as it must) then, the world will have no need to fear wars.

Communism is to me not a Party political caucus, but an ideology, and if ever Christ's creed is to be revived or allowed to function, it can only be on this basis.

I have not seen any protests at the persecution and witch hunts of Communists from Christians.

FRANK BURGESS

41 Maurice Road,
King's Heath, Birmingham, 14.

My Native Land

THE following quotation from the Dublin Opinion, June 1950, may interest your readers:

ANSWER

Breathes there a man with soul so dead
Who never to himself has said,
This is my own, my native land?

Oh, Yes. As a matter of fact he's an arms manufacturer. He sells arms to any country that can pay for them. . . . He doesn't care whether, in the event of war, they'll be used to slaughter his fellow countrymen to whom in that event he can still sell more arms. When he has made a real pile of money out of the business, he'll be at least knighted, but he'll probably receive a more important title of honour.

Mrs. L. HODGKIN

20 Holyoake Walk,
London, N.2.

Is the Iron Curtain impenetrable?

IT seems the so-called "Iron Curtain" is not so impenetrable as many people would have us believe. I have carried on correspondence for some years with friends living in Rumania, and other parts of Eastern Europe, and our letters have passed to and fro regularly and without interference. I recently started sending copies of The World and Peace News and other literature along with my letters and my correspondents inform me that they also reach their destination safely and incidentally are much appreciated.

J. GRANVILLE MARSH

6 Beach Road,
Litherland, Liverpool, 21.

Co-operation with non-pacifists

ONE naturally gives very careful consideration to the views of Sybil Morrison on the subject of limited co-operation with the Communists, because she realises the great experience that she has acquired during a lifetime of propaganda. Her defence in this week's Peace News was clever; it was clever to seek support "publicly" in the readiness of Christ to mix with the licans and sinners, and clever to ignore the fact that he did not co-operate with them in their purposes, which is really the only point of difference between your correspondents.

We should be very willing to make all possible personal contacts, although even here the difficulty is to develop any real understanding with folk who at any particular moment may sink their personality in obeying orders from the "party."

I cannot see how pacifists can co-operate with Communists without being exploited to some extent. There used to be a "certain" which told of a sad fatality of a "certain" young lady of Riga, who went for a ride with a tiger. I should have thought that Sybil Morrison's experience would have indicated that this frequently happens with "fellow-travellers." Moreover, it is open to doubt whether there is any utility in co-operating with non-pacifists whether in the Church or in politics.

Pacifists have a message involving belief in the highest principles of life. Let us propagate that. To introduce expediency into our methods is inconsistent with those principles. We may be misunderstood and "smeared" in preaching our message but that is no reason why we should deliberately associate ourselves, even to a limited extent, with the "fifth column."

WALLACE HANCOCK

Woodford Wells,
Essex.

(More letters on page eight)

Ealing UNA hears PPU speaker

"Atom deadlock must end"

IS the atomic deadlock insoluble? If not, what is the way out of the existing difficulty?

This was the theme of a talk given to the Ealing United Nations Association by Mr. R. E. Gundry, a local member of the Peace Pledge Union.

Mr. Gundry summarised the stalemate between the Western Powers and Russia as resting on three main points,

- (1) control,
- (2) the time-table, and
- (3) enforcement.

On control, he said that Russia would not agree to ownership of atomic plant or production being vested in any international body, apparently because of her conviction that this would really mean American control.

On the question of time, Russia advocated the banning of atomic weapons preceding control, while America desired to reverse the two processes. The very obvious solution of simultaneously taking both steps was still in abeyance,

Russian and U.S. viewpoints

As to enforcement, the Russians desired that the Security Council of the United Nations should exercise this so that the right of veto remained. America, on the other hand, desired to get rid of the veto difficulty by placing enforcement in the hands of some other body of UNO.

Mr. Gundry pointed out that very little progress had been made during the past two years in solving these differences of opinion and, in the meantime, some nations were probably making and "improving" atomic weapons of various kinds with the infinite danger of an explosion which might wreck civilisation.

In the discussion which followed, there was unanimity as to the desirability of ending the present deadlock, but some difference of opinion concerning the action which could be taken by the common people.

The Association finally decided to arrange a public meeting at which the matter could be further discussed, and another meeting on October 24, at which Mrs. Leah Manning would speak.

Further details may be obtained from the Secretary, Miss Gearing, at 16 Drayton Gardens, W.13.

FOOTNOTE: The next meeting of the Acton and Ealing PPU Group is on July 7 at 7.45 p.m. in the Friends Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road.

"REDUCE ARMS" CALL FROM BUCKS PEACE CONFERENCE

By Dr. A. K. JAMESON

AN All-Bucks Peace Conference was held in High Wycombe on June 24. It was organised by a committee of people concerned with peace which arose quite spontaneously without the necessity of inspiration by any outside agency.

The Conference was attended by 56 delegates from a very wide range of organisations—political parties (including both Conservative and Liberal), Trade Unions, Co-operatives, Youth Clubs, Farmers' Unions, Women's organisations, Churches, both Established and Nonconformist, and the PPU. With individuals representing no organisation the attendance came to well over 100. Messages of support came from Laurence Housman and Michael Tippett (both directors of Peace News).

A resolution was passed calling on the Government to take the initiative within the United Nations to secure agreements on the banning of the atom and hydrogen bombs and other weapons of mass slaughter, and on methods of international inspection and control in all countries, and to secure general and progressive reduction of expenditure on armaments.

An amendment calling on the Government to abolish conscription received a good deal of support but was defeated.

The principal speakers were Mr. J. Sandy, a Quaker, World War II CO, and Chairman of the newly formed London Peace Council, and Dr. Burhop, an atomic scientist.

A second Resolution, moved by Miss Elizabeth Acland Allen, detailed methods of action in defence of peace to be taken within the County. These included establishment of a permanent Bucks Peace Committee, deputation to Bucks MPs, formation of local peace groups, messages of peace and friendship to opposite numbers in other countries, support for the Stockholm Peace Petition, sponsored in this country by the British Peace Committee.

Fears were, of course, expressed that this movement might be distorted into a Communist stunt but, as Mr. Sandy emphasised, the safeguard is in the hands of the non-Communists, who are in a vast majority. If they showed as much energy and devotion to a cause as the Communists do they could ensure that the movement was run on the lines they wanted.

Peace Briefs

COVENTRY PEACE COUNCIL: A conference is to be held (see Diary) under the auspices of this council at which Stuart Morris and Dr. Arnott, the Atomic research scientist, will speak. Organisations associated: PPU, For, Crusade for World Government, British Soviet Friendship Society, and several more.

NARROW CONCERT: In Technical College, Saturday, July 1, there will be a concert at 8 p.m. by the Choir of the Volkschule of Lubeck. Works to be performed include several by Mozart, Brahms, Palestrina.

LONDON YOUTH PEACE COUNCIL: The need to induce young people to work for peace was emphasised by Mr. George Rude, Secretary of the London Peace Council, at a conference held in the Holborn Hall by the London Youth Peace Council. Main concern of the conference was to formulate plans for increasing the signatures drive for the Stockholm Petition. The council again met on June 26 to discuss future work in co-operation with the British Peace Committee.

WOODCRAFT FOLK: This children's organisation has now completed plans for large parties of members touring the Continent. Some 200 British children will join with the large number from many races taking part.

PPU National Council and the Communist Peace Movement

The following manifesto on the Peace Pledge Union's attitude towards the Communist Party and the British Peace Committee was issued from Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, on June 21.

RECOGNISING the danger to peace in any confusion between pacifism and communism, and in attempts to avert a world war being identified with pro-Russian sentiment, and in order to prevent misunderstanding and even misrepresentation the National Council of the Peace Pledge Union desires to make clear its attitude to the Communist Party and the British Peace Committee.

While asserting that a peaceful solution of outstanding problems is possible, and that nothing could justify a resort to war (which would never solve such problems), the National Council cannot assume that the word "peace" means the same to all who use it.

The PPU is a fellowship of absolute pacifists who, while they renounce war and reject the method of violence, believe that aggression and tyranny must and can be resisted by non-violent methods. By its constitution it cannot be affiliated to any political party.

In 1940 its Annual General Meeting agreed that the chief task of the PPU should be to awaken in men and women the

will to peace, and to show what peace implies in the relationships between nations and individuals. It declared that the PPU has no connection with the Communist Party, the British Union of Fascists, or the British Peoples Party, and that it could not even co-operate with such bodies because of fundamental differences in principle, method, and motive.

The British Peace Committee is the British counterpart of similar committees in Russia and many other countries, and is not a pacifist organisation. While anxious to avoid war with Russia these committees do not renounce war itself or the method of violence.

The National Council accepts the report of the recent World Pacifist Meeting in India, and believes that "pacifists should openly and vigorously defend freedom of speech, press, assembly and association for Communists as for other political or ideological groups... Even at the risk of being suspected as Communists or Communist sympathisers for the moment, pacifists should, as the way may open 'identify' themselves in suffering with Communists who are persecuted."

But the National Council is convinced that fundamental differences of principle make it neither possible nor desirable for the PPU as a movement to have any connection with the Communist Party or the BPC, and render it necessary to discourage mem-

bers of the PPU from signing the BPC petition (which originated at the Stockholm Meeting of the Committee of the World Congress of the Defenders of Peace) which, in its judgment, obscures the real issue.

The National Council urges groups to make certain of the actual origin and motive of local peace councils, and advises PPU members not to join such local peace councils when they are dominated by Communists. It urges groups instead to take the initiative in themselves forming local peace councils in co-operation with others with whom there is more fundamental agreement about constructive peacemaking as an end in itself, and not as a means to some other end.

Owing to the confusion which has already resulted from a failure to distinguish between the participation of members as individuals in conferences and demonstrations arranged by the BPC, and the official association of the PPU with such conferences and demonstrations, the National Council of the PPU asks officers and members of the PPU staff not to take part in such gatherings.

The National Council intends by the development of Peace Units and the way of non-violent resistance to make clear that, while it cannot condone the use of violence, it will not acquiesce in aggression or any other form of attempted domination.

Notes for your Diary

STOCKPORT: 7.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Middle. Hilgate, Stockport; John N. Upton on "Ecology and Peace"; Stockport No Conscription Council.

Thursday, July 6

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air Meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

LONDON, E.7: 7.45 p.m. Upton Park Methodist Church, Green Street, Forest Gate (opp. Bus garage): Frank Hancock: "World Disarmament Petition"; West Ham PPU Group.

Friday, July 7

EALING: 7.45 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 49 Uxbridge Road, Acton and Ealing Group: PPU resume fortnightly meetings: Secretary: Mrs. Joyce Balnave; 3 Allison Road, Acton, W.3: PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: 6.45 p.m. Kingsway Hall: Dr. Emmanuel Tuckman on "The New China"; International Voluntary Service for Peace.

Saturday, July 8

BIRMINGHAM: 3-9.30 p.m. Fircroft College, Bourneville (outer circle bus to Bourneville Green, one minute walk up Woodbrooke Road). Annual Garden Party. Speaker: Vera Brittain. West Midlands Area PPU.

DONCASTER: 3 p.m. Friends Meeting House, West Laithe Gate (a few yards right of Railway Station). Quarterly Area Meeting. Pooled Tea. PPU Area Secretary: K. Chadwick, 32 Spencer Place, Leeds 7.

LONDON, N.W.1: 2.30 p.m. Friends House, Euston Road; Day School on "The Challenge of the International Situation to the Labour Party"; First session: Basil Davidson on "The Basis of a New Foreign Policy"; Tea, 4.30; Second Session, 5 p.m.: Mary Saran on "Internationalist Socialism: Co-operation since the War"; Chairman: Reg Sorensen, MP; Charge per delegate or visitor 2s. 6d., including tea; Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

Sunday, July 9

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting: PPU.

Monday, July 10

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Thursday, July 13

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air Meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m. Friends House, Heath St.; Gwyneth Anderson on "The Power of Non-Violence, and Peace Units"; Secretary: J. Wynne-Tyson, 17a Pond St., N.W.3, HAM 0174; PPU.

COVENTRY: 3-5 p.m. and 5.30-7 p.m. Baptist Church Hall, Queens Road; Peace Conference: Speakers: Stuart Morris, and Dr. D. Arnott, Atomic Research Scientist; Chairman: Mr. W. L. Chinn, MA; Tea obtainable in YWCA adjoining; Enquiries to W. H. Slade, 141 Longfellow Road; Coventry: Coventry Peace Council.

LUTTERWORTH: 3 p.m. Congregational Church. Annual Conference. John W. Burton on "The Healing of the Nations." Chairman: Denis J. Ryley, BSc, For.

OXFORD: 5.30 p.m. Friends Meeting House, 43 St. Giles. Speaker: Lewis MacLachlan, MA, For.

SHEFFIELD: 3.0 p.m. Longshaw Lodge; One-Day School "Non-Violence"; Enquiries to W. Eason, 6a Summerfield, Sheffield 10.

Saturday, July 15 - Sunday, July 16

LONDON, S.W.5: International Weekend Conference on "The Main World Religions"; International People's College, 10 South Bolton Gardens, S.W.5.

Sunday, July 16

HYDE PARK: 7 p.m. Open-air meeting: PPU.

FINSBURY PARK: 11 a.m. Open-air meeting: North London Region, PPU.

GLASGOW: 7 p.m. Brunswick Street, Open-air meeting: PPU.

Monday, July 17

TOWER HILL: 1 p.m. Speakers: Jack Sutherland and Gwyneth Anderson; PPU.

Tuesday, July 18

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Meeting House, Upper Lattimore Road; Rev. E. H. Robertson, MA, on "Germany"; For.

Thursday, July 20

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields: Open-air Meeting: Sybil Morrison: PPU.

Saturday, July 22

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. "Rydal," Snaithing Park Rd., Sheffield, 10; PPU Annual Garden Party.

Saturday, July 22-Sunday, July 23

LONDON, S.W.5: International Weekend Conference on "The Refugee and DP Problem"; International People's College, 10 South Bolton Gardens, S.W.5.

Essential Reading for Active Pacifists

THE PPU JOURNAL

Monthly Fourpence
From Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4, or your local PPU Group (Postage 1d.)

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

PLEASE READ CAREFULLY

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When corresponding with PN about an advertisement, quote its first words, classification, and date.

We reserve the right to hold over advertisements and to limit the frequency of continuing advertisements.

MEETINGS

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

ACCOMMODATION

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian Guest House. Rest and comfort amid beautiful scenery. Arthur and Catherine Ludlow. The Briars, Crich, Near Matlock. Tel: Ambergate 44.

DEVON. EXMOUTH. Magnificent Coastal scenery. Garden Produce. Earham House, Courtlands Lane. Tel 2845.

EX-CO SEKS unfurnished accommodation for three. Country preferred, anywhere considered. Box 180.

VISIT GLORIOUS Lakeland. Highfield Vegetarian Guest House, the Heads, Kewick, offers beautiful views, good food and comfort in friendly atmosphere. Small conferences and parties welcome. Write Anne Horner. Tel. 508.

PERSONAL

ALL MEMBERS of the Christian Church interested in World Federation as a way to permanent peace should write to World Union, 105 Parkway, N.W.1.

MARRIAGE BUREAU offers unrivalled personal service. Nationwide clientele. Mary Blair (Room 59), 147 Holborn, E.C.1.

FOR SALE & WANTED

STEPNEY PACIFIST Service Unit, badly in need of funds, wants "Jumble" for a sale on July 8. Please send to 6.355, The Highway, E.1.

CHINESE BAMBOO garden canes in any quantity. Also Handicraft Cane, Raffia, Seagrass, Willow, Fine Straw Braid, etc. Lists from Whines and Edgeler, The Bamboo People, Godmanstone, Dorchester.

LITERATURE, &c.

QUAKERISM Information and Literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PEACE DEMANDS new economics. Have you studied the case for Social Credit. Information and literature from Social Credit Co-ordinating Centre, Gordon House, Carrington Street, Nottingham.

EDUCATIONAL

SPEAKING & WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit) 6s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Road, London, N.W.3. PRIMROSE 6686.

SITUATIONS VACANT

EXPERIENCED GARDENER-HANDYMAN for small holding, approx. one and half acres. Fruit trees, pigs and poultry for domestic use; energetic conscientious worker. Box 177.

PEACE WORK is available for all volunteers at Peace News office. Day time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in, to Peace News (STAmford Hill 2262) 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook, Stationers), Finsbury Park, N.4. (one minute from station).

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED

GESTETNER DUPLICATING, every variety. Mabel Eyles, 395 Hornsey Road, London, N.19. ARC 1765/MOU 1701.

MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps, an undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

PLEASE HAND THIS

TO YOUR NEWSAGENT

Please deliver PEACE NEWS to me weekly

To M.....
(Newsagent's name)

Name.....

Address.....

Note to Newsagent—PEACE NEWS is published weekly as a national newspaper at the retail price of 3d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers, at 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Up and doing!

THE GREAT UNKNOWN

HOW many people read Peace News every week? We sell from 9,500 to 10,000 copies, but guess that many times this number peruse our pages. After the war PN passed from hand to hand in Germany until it fell to pieces!

How many people read your Peace News after you have finished with it? Write along the top "Please read and pass on"—and then pass it on yourself.

If 100 people saw every copy we should have 1,000,000 readers a week. PASS IT ON!—but get new orders wherever you can. We need 2,500 more by the end of this year.

H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 9,800

Defence Fund now £82

EACH defendant in the recent Liverpool trial which followed a pacifist demonstration outside the Cathedral has given Notice of Appeal to the Court. The appeal reads:

Take notice that (defendant's name) intends to appeal against a certain conviction whereby he was adjudged guilty of the offence of behaving in a disorderly manner whereby a breach of the peace might have been occasioned and was ordered to pay a fine of 40s.

The general grounds of the appeal are:

(1) That there was no evidence upon which the Court should find that he was guilty of the said offence.

(2) That he was not guilty of the offence.

(3) That the finding was bad in law.

The appeal is expected to be heard during August. Meantime all donations of whatever substance should be sent to the Defence Fund, Peace Pledge Union, Dick Sheppard House, 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1. Liverpool PPU Group have raised £30 15s. Expenses to date have been £20.

LETTERS

(Other letters on page six)

Pacifism is non-political

THE time has come firmly to assert that pacifism has no political implications. It is simply a stand against war, and pacifists who, by the spoken or the written word, strive to put over any political doctrines, are doing a great disservice to pacifism and their fellow pacifists: for it should not be forgotten that no political power in this country, or in any other, makes any pretence to pacifist principles.

WINIFRED A. M. GREENFIELD

26 Orchard Avenue, Parkstone, Dorset.

INTERNATIONAL EISTEDDFOD

July 2nd to 9th at Llangollen

Volunteers urgently needed for PEACE NEWS selling at this important and enjoyable international event

North Wales readers and holiday visitors please, without delay, contact

MYFAMWY GRIFFITHS, GWASTED COED LLANWYNNOG, CAERWS, MONTGOMERYSHIRE (or Peace News office)

PRAY FOR PEACE

THE UNITED DAILY PRAYERS OF ALL SINCERE PEACE LOVERS WOULD ENSURE PERMANENT PEACE, AND SAVE WESTERN CIVILISATION FROM PROBABLE ANNIHILATION.

Peace Prayer cards and post cards, also the leaflets "YOUR PRAYER, THE WORLD'S GUARANTEE OF PEACE," are available free from

CHRISTIAN TRUTH FELLOWSHIP
52 FORESTDALE,
LONDON, N.14.

Peace News Campaign

All P.N. readers are cordially invited to meet

SYBIL MORRISON

Director of Peace News Ltd, and Campaign Organiser of PPU

who will speak on

"Peace and the Press"

at 6.30 p.m. on

Saturday, July 1

in the

Friends Mtg. House, St. Giles', Oxford

Chairman: JOHN CHAPMAN

Organised by:

Berks, Oxon and E. Wilts Area of PPU

WAR EXPERIMENT

Headlines and Comments

IT is an interesting daily task to compare and try to find similarity between the views and slants posing as news in one paper and the opposite views and slants equally posing as untampered news in another.

On Monday it was of even greater, and more serious interest, to start on this task. With the Korean outbreak the Press of the nation, the large-circulation dailies, really showed their news swiveling skill.

DAILY EXPRESS

Headlines: War on 38th Parallel; Red Korea invades with tanks. U.S. sending arms

William Hardcastle cables the background story to the news that has shocked the world—the invasion of American-sponsored South Korea by the Russian-dominated North.

News: The Russian-sponsored Republic of North Korea declared war on the South yesterday, and the Communist armies, 50,000 strong, thrust across the border. Last night the American-trained forces of the South counter attacked. The Southern Government announced that one of its vessels had sunk a Russian ship.

DAILY WORKER

Headlines: Korean Republic Is Invaded; U.S. Puppets attack: "Fierce Battle."

News: Troops of the American-controlled puppet government of the South invaded the People's Republic at three points. . . . Mr. J. F. Dulles, adviser to the American State Department, who had just visited Korea, said after he saw General Mac-

ADMIT CHINA TO UNO

AN allegation was made at a British-China Friendship Conference at Luton Town Hall recently that the local Labour Party had attempted to sabotage the conference.

About 20 people attended the conference and listened to addresses by Dr. E. Tuckman, of the British-China Friendship organisation, and Mr. W. N. Warbey, former Labour MP for Luton.

The conference passed a resolution urging the Government to instruct its delegates to UNO to press for seats for the present Chinese Government's representatives and the expulsion of Chiang Kai Shek representatives.

Dr. Tuckman, who was in China from 1947 to 1949, told the conference of improvements in living conditions there and of the enormous possibilities for trading between this country and China.

What China needs

They needed not only goods from the basic and heavy industries, but from light engineering industries, he said. In return, they could supply us with metals, rice, tungsten, soya beans, oils, peanuts, and, with our help, in a few years' time they would be able to export wheat to us.

Friendship with China Dr. Tuckman concluded, would mean not only an improvement in our standards of living, but would help in the prevention of war.

Mr. Warbey said he regarded this attempt to establish really close, sincere and friendly relations between Britain and China as something in the interests of both countries and a contribution towards the peace of the world as a whole.

He was glad the Government had recognised the Chinese Government, but he thought they needed to go further and definitely and positively say we were in favour of China's representatives taking their place in UNO.

End war-making divisions

"Anything we can do to prevent this dividing up into two separate camps must be a contribution to world peace, and I believe that Britain and China could make some such contribution."

During discussion a member of the audience declared that "There has already been an attempt to sabotage this meeting locally by the Labour Party." Earlier two others had commented on the lack of support at the conference.

Sponsors of the conference were Luton Trades Council, Luton Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd., Education Dept., Crusade for World Government, National Union of Tailors and Garment Workers and Luton Independent Labour Party.

SOUTH AFRICA

(Continued from front page)

and maintained that this development was even more terrible than in Germany.

Dr. Lawrence and Mr. Altman agreed, the latter adding that South Africa would lose an essential democratic right with the passage of the Anti-Communist Bill, namely that no-one shall be deprived of any rights or subjected to any punishment without the due processes of the law and recourse to the courts.

This exceedingly lively Brains Trust, organised by the South African Student Association, 80 South Hill Park, N.W.3, was described by Kingsley Martin as one of the most informative in his experience.

NEW ANGLICAN PACIFIST H.Q.

The Anglican Pacifist Fellowship has now removed from 1 Adelaide Street to Newington Rectory, 58 Cannington Park Road, London, S.E.11. Tel. REL 1894.

PRESS COVERS KOREA

Arthur last week that his talks would be followed by "positive action."

MANCHESTER GUARDIAN

Headlines: North Begins "Full Scale War"; U.S. Responses to call for arms.

News: Northern Korean Radio alleged that Southern forces had invaded their territory. These charges, the Korean Commission of UN said, were termed completely false by the South Korea president.

Comment: Possibly the invasion may be a reply to the recent American defence consultations in Tokyo.

DAILY MAIL

Headlines: United Nations Order: Stop Korea War; U.S. Flies in arms as Reds Attack Capital.

News: The U.N. condemned the invasion by Communists from North Korea.

Comment: Soviet Russia is behind the assault. How else could the local Communists have built up an army three times the size of that in the south?

NEWS CHRONICLE

Headlines: Korea: UN Orders "Cease Fire"; Security Council says: Go back behind your frontier.

News: The Northern Koreans maintain that the attack came from the South and that they are fighting a "fierce defensive battle."

Comment: We know now who are peace loving and who are not. The mask has been rudely cast aside. The Trojan dove of peace is fluttering in the West.

DAILY HERALD

Headlines: Korea: America Rushes Arms; Defending army has only ten days' ammunition.

News: By the time formal declaration of war was made, a strong armoured column was thrusting through the best tank country in Korea towards Seoul, capital of the American-advised Southern Korean Government.

THE TIMES

Headlines: Communist Troops Move Into S. Korea.

News: Should the U.S. reach the point where direct intervention is considered necessary there is at present one carrier, two cruisers and ten destroyers in the Far East, five fighter groups on Guam, and General MacArthur has 125,000 troops under his command.

Comment: The U.S. upon whom the chief burden of counter measures in the Far East must lie, yesterday asked the Security Council to denounce the invasion. This call has the backing of Britain and all who sincerely strive for the peace of the world.

Recent Publications

(Continued from page four)

Humanity, June 1950, sq. 8vo. 36pp. and cover (Glasgow: United World Publications, 1s.)

This number of the Journal of World Government Progress is brighter than ever. It contains "The General Meets Logic" which many readers will remember as one of the most successful PPU leaflets, and some stills from the United Nations film strip which tries to translate into pictorial terms the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Articles, news, letters and reviews, and a cartoon of a scientist snapping bad-temperedly "That's what I think of your Hydrogen Bomb!" and pitching it crossly through a skyscraper window.

International Youth Review, Spring Summer 1950, d. 8vo. 36 pp. and cover (London: 73, Oxford Street, 1s.)

It is good to see the appeal to youth for peace and international understanding being made by such people as Vera Brittain, Martin Niemöller, Douglas Fairbanks and Toyohiko Kagawa, and book notes and snippets from many quarters maintain the full world-wide interest. Perhaps it is a fault that attention does not stay long enough in any one place; sometimes only a few lines, three pages the utmost limit. One article at least in each issue might be given space enough to get down to some really detailed study.

Community Service News, Jan.-Feb. 1950 d.8vo. 32 pp. (Yellow Springs, Ohio: Community Service, Inc. 35 cents).

Modern Society is feeling its way towards becoming a complex social organism with endless and complex inter-relationships. This journal is devoted to work of any sort which is helping that organism to healthy growth. The current number contains much that is of interest to pacifists, particularly the text of a talk broadcast from Boston (Massachusetts) by Rabindranath Tagore about his "school", at Santiniketan: that great cultural community of which only too little is known in the West. T.R.D.

Sybil Morrison's
CAMPAIGN
COLUMN

Chi K'ang asked Confucius about government, saying "What do you say to killing the unprincipled for the good of the principled?" Confucius replied "Sir, in carrying on your government, why should you use killing at all? Let your evinced desires be for what is good, and the people will be good."

—The Analects of Confucius, 221 B.C.

Nevertheless, a truly noble and wise nation necessarily has a noble and wise visible government, for its wisdom issues in that conclusively.

—"Munera Pulveris." John Ruskin

LAST Sunday evening in Hyde Park, a young soldier shouted at me that, threatened by the possibility of a Russian invasion of this country, he was obliged to fight in order to protect his bedridden mother.

After some debate with him, the confusion in his mind became evident; he would not, it appeared, have volunteered for the army, but on the contrary, had been conscripted, and it was plain that his resentment against the pacifist message arose almost entirely from a sense of injustice, engendered by a world situation and a government policy, in which conscription is deemed to be essential.

Added to this was a sense of his own helplessness, and that same feeling of personal futility made itself felt in the crowd; some amused, some interested, some indignant and angry, indicated their strong agreement that he, and they, were utterly helpless. What, in fact, could any of them do against governments?

How freedom is won

Yet, in this country alone, there is the whole history of the struggle for freedom of religion, the fight for the abolition of slavery, the battle for the woman's vote, the epic building against huge odds of the Labour movement; all won from disbelief, determinedly opposed governments.

It has frequently been said that governments dare not go to war without the will of their people, and the truth is, that knowing this, Governments by the sentimental call to patriotism, and by the inducement of fear, ensure that at the given moment the people will be for war.

To resist the appeal to love of country, to stand firm against the call to courage, to oppose the battering force of public opinion, is not something that is easily undertaken, and governments know it. There would be no concession to conscience in this country if governments for one moment believed that the majority would use the right of conscientious objection to military service, and refuse to fight.

By accepting specious arguments and lying propaganda ordinary people are encouraged and support government policies with regard to war. This young soldier was not helpless; he was afraid to strike out against the current because it is easier to drift with it, relieving the pricks of resentment, and perhaps even of a stirring comment, by blaming someone else; the government is always a convenient scapegoat, and so, at the moment is the Kremlin.

The people's real strength

Petitioning governments to do something that is meaningless and immoral is not the answer; a petition, if it is to carry any strength must not only satisfy in each person who signs it a deep moral sense of its rightness, but must be an indication, not only of the desire for peace, but the determination to achieve it at any personal sacrifice.

What is needed today is not useless band aid and arrogant indictments, but a simple decision to let governments know that their people have renounced war. It is time that young people and old discarded the cloak of "helplessness" and prepared to face and endure, without protection, the storm if it should come. Let it not be forgotten that it might never break if "in quietness and in confidence" the ordinary people of the world showed governments the true way to peace.

If you like
this issue...

You should distribute extra copies among friends, at your church and club and elsewhere.

PN for free distribution are supplied at 1s 6d. dozen, postage 4d.; for sale, 2s. 3d. dozen, postage 4d. Publicity leaflets free.

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